1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

(Freely: Do not look into my face that way, for, if you do, I shall never be able to forget you)[1].

As the affair progresses, the participants of course become progressively influenced by the drink, which is not intrinsically very strong, but which when taken in large quantities, steadily, for several hours produces all degrees of drunkenness. Restraints which are ordinarily practised are relaxed. On the one hand, an atmosphere of good fellowship prevails, individuals borrowing goods and taking privileges which would not even be mentioned during soberer hours. On the other hand, suppressed grudges are often brought to the surface and accounts settled with blows, a form of action which is seldom taken by a sober Carib. Men and women normally are extremely modest about exposing their sexual organs, even to members of their own sex, but during a drinking spree they can be seen urinating publicly and making jokes about it. However, I have seen no example of the practise which writers on the Guiana Indians have so frequently mentioned, namely, vomiting in order to increase one's drinking capacity. As the evening wears on the more enterprising men have usually arranged trysts with girls or women. The festivities gradually die a normal death as these couples slip off to their rendezvous, leaving the remainder of the party to drop into drunken sleep.

A spree continues until the supply of drink is exhausted. This is usually two or three days, and during this time the program of activity outlined above is vigorously kept up. When the beverage supply has come to an end the participants in the spree usually get into their hammocks and spend about twenty-four hours sleeping off the effects of the orgy before returning to their own homes.

The several forms of alcoholic stimulant have been described above. Tobacco remains to be mentioned. The tobacco plants grown by the Indians are of medium size, both as to height and leaves. They are planted from seed in the fields, and seedlings are sometimes, though not invariably, replanted after they have attained a height of a few inches. The great curse of the tobacco plants is a ground worm which destroys the roots. It is believed that planting the seed during the dark of the moon is favorable

[1] The author does not have sufficient familiarity with the Carib language to vouch completely for either the transliterations or the translations of these songs, which were obtained through interpreters. They have, however, been checked with three interpreters.

554 Shortly after my arrival in Sawari, friction between Cook and
621 Miller, which had apparently been brewing under the surface for
578 some time, became evident. Miller, on several occasions during the course of cassiri sprees, picked quarrels with Cook and tried to induce the latter to fight him. Cook took the attitude that he could not be bothered with such petty disputes and went about his business unperturbed. As a result, during most of my stay in Sawari, Cook, and as a rule the residents of his clearing, stayed away from Miller's clearing. The residents of Miller's clearing finally refused to invite them to cassiri sprees, to which the residents of Cook's clearing responded by having cassiri sprees of their own to which the Miller residents were not invited. In this dispute Laura remained with her husband.

The only exception to this rule was Henry Daniel, a young man of perhaps twenty-one. He is the only man in Cook's clearing who has close relatives of his own sex in Miller's clearing. His brothers, Samuel and Columbus, live there, a fact which assured him of enough backing in the antagonistic atmosphere of Miller's clearing to make visits there bearable. His wife, Mary, a half-sister of Cook, is very young, perhaps eighteen, and during my stay in Sawari gave birth to her first child.

621 Daniel, a half brother of Cook, is a young fellow of about twenty-
554 two. He is Cook's closest cooperator in the settlement. They do everything together. Daniel's wife, Elsie, a cross cousin of Miller, is not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. They have no children.

John, the head of the fourth household in Cook's clearing, is a distant parallel cousin of Miller. He is a man of about thirty-five, and his association with Cook is based on personal friendship.

Thus we see that three of the four households in Cook's clearing are related to him by blood, and one household is associated with him on the basis of personal factors. Of the seven individuals in Sawari belonging to Cook's blood group, six live with him in his clearing.

Cook's clearing is different from that of Miller in that it is not only a residential clearing but also an agricultural field. It is the largest open space in the Sawari neighborhood, measuring nine hundred and fifty feet by six hundred and eighty feet, and the whole clearing is not more than a year old. For some years Cook

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

tion room made of palm leaves. Here the practitioner calls the spirit which is harming his patient. He tells the spirit that it must desist, otherwise he will call the tiger spirit, which will devour the offending spirit. The theory of the above described shooting process is this. Although the piaiyen is spoken of as shooting his victim, he ceases to be the active agent once he has convoked a spirit. The stones which are projected are used by the spirits in the same way in which arrows are used by human beings. The piaiyen is a passive agent at the service of the spirit.

Direct personal retribution for an offense may be used in cases where the culprit is caught red-handed. If a man surprises another committing adultery with his wife, immediate violence will be the result. Fists, cutlasses, bows and arrows, or guns will be employed. A good many petty grievances also come to blows, usually disputes arising during cassiri sprees. When a man is sober, he prefers to seek satisfaction in a more secret manner. It sometimes happens that, as a result of a fight, two settlements are officially at odds with one another; members of the respective settlements are forbidden by a consensus of opinion to have anything to do with those of the other. In case a member of one settlement transgresses this prohibition and enters into friendly relations with the other group, the headman of his own group may attempt to use either oral or physical coercion to enforce conformity.

Perhaps the most interesting of the forms of personal retribution is kanaima, a cult which is found among practically all of the Indians of the Guianas.[1]

If all other means of obtaining redress have failed, a man may decide to become a kanaima. This is a very serious step because it means that he must leave family and friends, must undergo extreme privations and social ostracism, must devote all his life and energies to the accomplishment of his purpose. The facts concerning this strange cult are difficult to determine because I have not succeeded in interviewing any individual who would admit having been a kanaima. This indicates that membership in the kanaima cult is itself an offense, while on the other hand it may be used as a path to punishment. The beliefs and attitudes concerning the cult are, however, herewith briefly set forth.

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, Chap. 18. Farabee, 1924, *The Central Caribs*.

broker between them. At times, rivalry was evident when a worker had been suspended for two weeks, as was the standard practice for failure to turn out for a scheduled work period. The suspended man would have his wife make a batch of cassiri, and he would hold a spree for other miners who often suspected the plot but could not resist the invitation. In turn, the guests would be too inebriated to work, and the first miner would be immediately reinstated as constant workers were needed to maintain the mining enterprise.

From the pattern of social organization attending subsistence farming in the rain forest, father and son and father and son-in-law ties have been solidified by strategies to secure employment. In this case, previous nuclear families with ties of assistance among a wider kin group, effective organization for exploiting the bush, were changed by the circumstances of the availability of employment. However, the record of impermanence regarding work opportunities and other markets has contributed to a general lack of explicitness regarding work partnerships and residential practices among the Upper Barama River Carib population during the last forty years. The organization of the population with no access to steady mining employment also has been affected by the increased availability of regional exchange opportunities. This is best detailed in the discussion of the situation during 1970-71.

Resettlement around Baramita Air Strip

The current residence situation among the Upper Barama River Carib population has resulted from the pattern described by Gillin,